

HART-TEETER
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Study #4083--page 1

Interviews: 1007 adults¹
Dates: October 25-27, 1997

48 Male
52 Female
[5]

FINAL

Study #4083
NBC News/WSJ
October 1997

AR	TYPE	SA	FORM	DA
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[6]	[7]	[8]	[9]	[10]
[11]	[12]	October	[13]	[14]
1997				

¹ THIS SURVEY REFLECTS RESPONSES AMONG 1007 ADULTS FROM INTERVIEWS CONDUCTED FROM OCTOBER 25-27. 207 ADDITIONAL INTERVIEWS WERE CONDUCTED ON OCTOBER 28. RESPONSES FROM THE COMBINED TOTAL OF 1214 INTERVIEWS ARE REFLECTED IN QUESTIONS FOLLOWED BY THE POUND SIGN (#).

1. All in all, do you think things in the nation are generally headed in the right direction, or do you feel that things are off on the wrong track?

	10/97#	9/97	7/97	6/97	4/97	3/97	High 2/91+	Low 7/92+	
Right direction.....	44	48	44	43	37	40	65	14	[15]
Wrong track.....	39	36	40	40	44	45	22	71	
Mixed (VOL).....	14	12	12	14	16	13	9	9	
Not sure.....	3	4	4	3	3	2	4	6	

This question reflects responses among 1214 adults.
+ Asked only of registered voters.

- 2a. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing as president?

	10/97#	9/97	7/97	6/97	4/97	3/97	High 9/97	Low 6/93	
Approve.....	57	62	56	58	57	57	62	41	[16]
Disapprove.....	34	29	36	33	36	36	29	50	
Not sure.....	9	9	8	9	7	7	9	9	

This question reflects responses among 1214 adults.

- 2b. Do you generally approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing in handling the economy?

	10/97*#	9/97	7/97	6/97	4/97	3/97	High 9/97	Low 7/93	9/94	
Approve.....	65	64	62	60	55	59	64	40	40	[17]
Disapprove.....	25	28	29	32	38	33	28	51	51	
Not sure.....	10	8	9	8	7	8	8	9	9	

This question reflects responses among 710 adults.
* October 25-27, asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 2c. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing in handling our foreign policy?

	<u>10/97**</u>	<u>9/97</u>	<u>7/97</u>	<u>6/97</u>	<u>4/97</u>	<u>3/97</u>	<i>High</i> <u>1/97</u>	<i>Low</i> <u>9/94</u>	
Approve.....	49	50	51	53	52	48	57	32	[18]
Disapprove.....	37	34	37	34	32	37	34	60	
Not sure.....	14	16	12	13	16	15	9	8	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

3. I'm going to read you the names of several public figures and organizations, and I'd like you to rate your feelings toward each one as either very positive, somewhat positive, neutral, somewhat negative, or very negative. If you don't know the name, please just say so.

	<u>Very Positive</u>	<u>Somewhat Positive</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Somewhat Negative</u>	<u>Very Negative</u>	<u>Don't Know Name/ Not Sure</u>	
Bill Clinton							[19]
October 1997.....	21	30	16	15	17	1	
September 1997.....	24	32	17	13	13	1	
July 1997.....	26	30	13	14	16	1	
June 1997.....	20	31	17	15	16	1	
April 1997.....	20	33	15	15	16	1	
March 1997.....	23	31	14	14	17	1	
<i>High</i>							
January 1993.....	33	31	15	9	7	5	
<i>Low</i>							
September 1994.....	13	28	18	18	23	-	
Newt Gingrich							[20]
October 1997.....	4	18	24	21	27	6	
September 1997.....	5	14	20	21	33	7	
July 1997.....	4	14	22	25	29	6	
June 1997.....	6	15	18	25	30	6	
April 1997.....	6	15	21	22	31	5	
March 1997.....	5	15	19	23	33	5	
<i>High</i>							
April 21-25, 1995.....	11	20	18	13	23	15	
<i>Low</i>							
July 1997.....	4	14	22	25	29	6	
Janet Reno							[21]
October 1997.....	13	26	25	14	13	9	
April 1997.....	14	31	21	15	9	10	
July 1995.....	11	25	21	15	15	13	
January 1994.....	13	24	20	11	11	21	
June 1993.....	18	20	18	8	5	31	
Al Gore							[22]
October 1997.....	10	27	28	15	17	3	
September 1997.....	13	25	24	18	15	5	
July 1997.....	16	33	23	11	14	3	
June 1997.....	18	28	25	13	12	4	
April 1997.....	15	31	25	15	12	2	
March 1997.....	17	30	22	16	12	3	
<i>High</i>							
January 1993.....	23	32	22	9	6	8	
<i>Low</i>							
September 1997.....	13	25	24	18	15	5	
Tobacco companies							[23]
October 1997 *.....	4	9	21	18	46	2	
Ted Kennedy							[24]
October 1997 *.....	6	14	28	18	29	5	
May 1991.....	8	18	21	22	27	4	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

Q.3 (cont'd.)

	<u>Very Positive</u>	<u>Somewhat Positive</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Somewhat Negative</u>	<u>Very Negative</u>	<u>Don't Know Name/ Not Sure</u>	
Jesse Helms							[25]
October 1997 *.....	4	12	24	16	20	24	
December 1994.....	3	10	23	17	24	23	
The Internal Revenue Service							[26]
October 1997.....	3	9	22	22	42	2	
Labor unions							[27]
October 1997 **.....	12	23	27	19	13	6	
June 1997.....	13	25	24	18	14	6	
Trent Lott							[28]
October 1997 **.....	3	9	22	7	3	56	
July 1997.....	5	11	18	7	4	55	
June 1997.....	5	10	19	7	4	55	
April 1997.....	6	10	17	4	2	61	
March 1997.....	4	11	19	5	3	58	
January 1997.....	6	10	14	3	2	65	
December 1996.....	5	9	18	4	2	62	
Richard Gephardt							[29]
October 1997 **.....	4	18	30	12	6	30	
September 1997.....	6	15	32	8	7	32	
March 1992.....	4	19	29	11	7	30	
March 1991.....	5	21	28	10	4	32	
Hillary Rodham Clinton							[30]
October 1997.....	20	25	23	13	17	2	
September 1997.....	19	26	18	15	20	2	
July 1997.....	16	23	21	16	23	1	
June 1997.....	22	26	15	15	20	2	
April 1997.....	18	26	18	14	22	2	
March 1997.....	17	25	21	15	21	1	
High							
January 1993.....	27	30	21	8	8	6	
Low							
May 1996+.....	14	20	19	17	27	3	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

+ Asked only of registered voters.

4. Thinking back over the past few months or so, has your respect for Bill Clinton and the job he is doing as president increased, decreased, or stayed the same?

Increased.....	14	[31]
Decreased.....	22	
Stayed the same.....	63	
Not sure.....	1	

QUESTIONS 5a, 5b, 6a, AND 6b HAVE BEEN EMBARGOED BY NBC NEWS THROUGH NOVEMBER 9.

- 5a. Which one of the following choices, if any, do you think is Bill Clinton's biggest accomplishment as president up to now? *

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE

Protecting programs such as Medicare and education from budget cuts.....	30	[32]
Improving the economy and creating more jobs.....	23	
Keeping the U.S. at peace with other nations.....	13	
Working to pass the balanced budget agreement.....	13	
Moving the Democratic Party to the political center.....	8	
All equally (VOL).....	3	
None of these (VOL).....	8	
Not sure	2	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 5b. Which one of the following choices, if any, do you think is Bill Clinton's biggest failure as president up to now? *

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE

Diminishing the presidency because of ethical problems.....	29	[33]
Not addressing the long-term problems with Social Security and Medicare.....	27	
Not achieving health care reform.....	14	
Not adequately protecting programs for the poor and middle class.....	12	
Not achieving a balanced budget.....	5	
All equally (VOL).....	7	
None of these (VOL).....	3	
Not sure	3	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 6a. As you may know, when Bill Clinton leaves office he will be in his mid-50s and will be one of this nation's youngest former presidents. Which one of the following do you think Bill Clinton is most likely to do when he leaves office? *

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE

Be like other former presidents -- by giving speeches and becoming involved in various causes.....	50	[34]
Go into private business.....	15	
Teach and write at a university	14	
Serve in another political office.....	13	
Other (VOL).....	2	
None of these (VOL).....	1	
Not sure	5	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 6b. Often we get mental pictures of presidents, such as Ronald Reagan on a horse or John Kennedy playing touch football. When it comes to your mental picture or image of Bill Clinton, which one of the following do you most associate with him? **

Playing the saxophone.....	42	[35]
Running in jogging shorts	40	
Playing golf.....	7	
Eating at McDonald's.....	6	
All equally (VOL).....	5	
None of these (VOL).....	-	
Not sure	-	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

QUESTIONS 5a, 5b, 6a, AND 6b HAVE BEEN EMBARGOED BY NBC NEWS THROUGH NOVEMBER 9

- 7a. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Congress is doing?

	10/97#	9/97	7/97	6/97	4/97	3/97	High 7/97	Low 10/90+	
Approve.....	46	45	48	44	41	36	48	22	[36]
Disapprove.....	41	40	37	44	45	52	37	69	
Not sure.....	13	15	15	12	14	12	15	9	

This question reflects responses among 1214 adults.

+ Asked only of registered voters.

- 7b. What is your preference for the outcome of the November 1998¹ congressional elections -- a Congress controlled by Republicans or a Congress controlled by Democrats?

	10/97#	9/97	7/97	4/97	11/96+	10/96+	
Republicans.....	40	41	45	44	44	42	[37]
Democrats.....	39	39	39	38	40	40	
Both equal/neither in control (VOL).....	9	9	NA	NA	7	9	
Doesn't matter (VOL).....	6	5	NA	NA	4	4	
Not sure.....	6	6	16	18	5	5	

	9/96+	6/96+	1/96	12/95	10/94 ¹
	42	40	41	42	44
	41	40	38	41	38
	7	9	10	8	6
	4	5	4	4	5
	6	6	7	5	7

This question reflects responses among 1214 adults.

+ Asked only of registered voters.

¹ In October 1994, the question referred to the 1994 congressional elections; all other survey dates except the current one referred to the 1996 congressional elections.

- 8a. Let me read you some specific issues, and please tell me, on a scale from one to ten, how high a priority you think each one should be for Congress. If you think an item should be the top priority for Congress, rate it as "9" or "10." If you think it should be a low priority for Congress, rate it as a "1" or "2." And if you think it is important but not necessarily a top priority for Congress, choose a number in the middle of the scale. You may use any number between one and ten, depending on how much of a priority you think that issue should be.

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE PERCENTAGE WHO SAY TOP PRIORITY (RATING OF 10)

	Mean	Top Priority 10	8-9	4-7	Low Priority 1-3	Cannot Rate	
Reducing crime							[47]
October 1997 **.....	8.5	50	25	20	4	1	
December 1996.....	8.8	57	25	13	4	1	
Improving public education							[42]
October 1997 *.....	8.5	49	32	14	5	-	
December 1996.....	8.9	57	27	12	3	1	
Creating jobs and economic growth							[43]
October 1997 **.....	8.2	37	33	27	3	-	
December 1996.....	8.5	41	37	19	3	-	
Reforming the tax system							[40]
October 1997 *.....	8.1	36	33	26	5	-	
Ensuring high-quality child care							[46]
October 1997 **.....	7.5	35	26	28	10	1	
Reforming Medicare							[38]
October 1997 *.....	8.1	31	38	27	4	-	
December 1996.....	7.8	28	38	28	5	1	
Reforming Social Security							[44]
October 1997 **.....	7.9	29	37	26	7	1	
December 1996.....	7.7	30	34	27	8	1	
Protecting the environment							[39]
October 1997 *.....	7.4	26	33	31	10	-	
December 1996.....	7.3	26	29	36	9	-	
Reforming the campaign finance system							[45]
October 1997 **.....	6.9	22	25	36	15	2	
December 1996.....	7.1	22	28	37	12	1	
Establishing new trade agreements							[41]
October 1997 *.....	6.2	7	22	58	10	3	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

- 8b. As you may know, the Social Security system is facing major shortfalls that threaten the future financial stability of the system. Please tell me which one of the following approaches you favor in order to deal with the problem. **

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE

Require people to invest some of their income in individual retirement accounts.....	43	[48]
Raise the eligibility age for benefit.....	16	
Raise Social Security payroll taxes.....	14	
Reduce benefit levels.....	7	
All (VOL).....	4	
None (VOL).....	11	
Not sure.....	5	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

9. If Ross Perot were a candidate for president in the 2000 elections, would you or would you not consider voting for him? **

Would consider voting for Perot in 2000.....	25	[49]
Would not consider voting for Perot in 2000...	69	
Not sure.....	6	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

Turning now to another subject....

10. I am going to read you a list of people who are active in public life. For each one, please tell me how you would rate the honesty and ethical standards of each person -- very high, high, average, low, or very low?

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE PERCENTAGE WHO SAY VERY HIGH OR HIGH

	<u>Very High</u>	<u>High</u>	<u>Average</u>	<u>Low</u>	<u>Very Low</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
Bob Dole							[54]
October 1997.....	15	32	35	10	5	3	
Janet Reno							[53]
October 1997.....	9	29	35	11	7	9	
Al Gore							[52]
October 1997.....	7	24	41	17	9	2	
January 1997.....	18	27	35	10	6	4	
Bill Clinton							[50]
October 1997.....	7	19	35	20	18	1	
January 1997.....	10	21	37	16	15	1	
Newt Gingrich							[51]
October 1997.....	2	11	39	27	15	6	
January 1997.....	2	7	36	32	20	3	

11. Do you think the political fund-raising abuses that President Clinton and the Democratic Party have been reported as committing are acts that many politicians have probably committed, or do you think that these abuses are ones that do not occur frequently in our political system?

	<u>10/97</u>	<u>9/97</u>	<u>7/97</u>	
Many politicians have committed similar fund-raising abuses.....	80	77	74	[55]
These fund-raising abuses do not occur frequently in our system...	16	15	18	
Not sure.....	4	8	8	

- 12a. Do you think that President Clinton is or is not telling the truth about his involvement in political fund-raising last year? *

President Clinton is telling the truth.....	28	[56]
President Clinton is not telling the truth.....	58	
Not sure.....	14	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 12b. Do you think that President Clinton was or was not aware that he was raising campaign funds that may have been illegal? *

President Clinton was aware.....	66	[57]
President Clinton was not aware.....	24	
Not sure.....	10	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

13. Do you think that the Clinton White House has or has not cooperated with the investigation of alleged political fund-raising abuses? **

The Clinton White House has cooperated.....	45	[58]
The Clinton White House has not cooperated.....	46	
Not sure.....	9	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

- 14a. Some people have called for the Attorney General to appoint a special independent counsel to investigate allegations of improper fund-raising practices by the Clinton White House in the 1996 elections. Let me read you three statements on this matter, and please tell me which one comes closest to your view.

Statement A: An independent counsel should be appointed to investigate possible campaign finance violations by the Clinton White House in the 1996 elections.

Statement B: An independent counsel should be appointed to investigate possible campaign finance violations by both the Clinton White House and the Republicans.

Statement C: An independent counsel is not needed, because allegations of fund-raising abuses by the Clinton White House have been investigated in congressional hearings.

Which one of these comes closest to your view? *

<u>Statement A:</u> Independent counsel should be appointed to investigate the Clinton White House.....	17	[59]
<u>Statement B:</u> Independent counsel should be appointed to investigate both the Clinton White House and the Republicans.....	50	
<u>Statement C:</u> Independent counsel is not needed.....	30	
Not sure.....	3	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 14b. As you may know, Attorney General Janet Reno was appointed to her position by President Clinton. Do you think Janet Reno can or cannot fairly investigate allegations of improper political fund-raising by the Clinton White House? *

Janet Reno can fairly investigate.....	54	[60]
Janet Reno cannot fairly investigate.....	42	
Not sure.....	4	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

15. Do you think that President Clinton's legal problems, such as the investigation into political fund-raising abuses and the Paula Jones lawsuit, will or will not seriously limit President Clinton's effectiveness over the remainder of his presidency? **

Will seriously limit effectiveness.....	29	[61]
Will not limit effectiveness.....	62	
Depends (VOL).....	5	
Not sure.....	4	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

- 16a. Do you think that Vice President Gore is or is not telling the truth about his involvement in political fund-raising last year? **

Gore is telling the truth.....	30	[62]
Gore is not telling the truth.....	50	
Not sure.....	20	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

- 16b. From what you have heard, do you think that the fund-raising practices of Vice President Gore in the 1996 campaign were -- (a) both legal and ethical, (b) legal but ethically questionable, or (c) do you think the fund-raising practices of Vice President Gore were neither legal nor ethical? **

Legal and ethical.....	11	[63]
Legal but ethically questionable.....	51	
Neither legal nor ethical.....	29	
Not sure.....	9	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

17. If Congress fails to pass campaign reform legislation this year, who do you think deserves the most blame-- the Democrats in Congress or the Republicans in Congress? *

The Democrats should be blamed.....	22	[64]
The Republicans should be blamed.....	28	
Both should be blamed (VOL)	35	
Neither should be blamed (VOL)	4	
Not sure.....	11	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 18a. Do you think that labor union leaders should or should not have to get permission in advance from each member to spend a portion of that member's dues on lobbying and other forms of political activity? *

Yes, should have to get permission.....	80	[65]
No, should not have to get permission.....	16	
Not sure	4	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 18b. Do you think that business leaders should or should not have to get permission from their stockholders to spend corporate funds on lobbying and other forms of political activity? *

Yes should have to get permission.....	81	[66]
No, should not have to get permission.....	15	
Not sure.....	4	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

19. Do you think that other, politically active organizations, such as religious or women's groups, should or should not be subject to the same campaign finance restrictions as labor unions and corporations? *

Yes, other organizations should be subject to same restrictions.....	76	[67]
No, other organizations should not be subject to same restrictions..	17	
Not sure.....	7	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 20a. Would you be more likely or less likely to vote for a candidate for public office if that candidate were closely associated with labor unions? **

More likely to vote for.....	30	[68]
Less likely to vote for.....	40	
Depends (VOL).....	20	
Not sure.....	10	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

- 20b. Would you be more likely or less likely to vote for a candidate for public office if that candidate were closely associated with tobacco companies? **

More likely to vote for.....	11	[69]
Less likely to vote for.....	64	
Depends (VOL).....	15	
Not sure.....	10	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

Moving to another subject in the news ...

- 21a. As you may know, Paula Jones has filed a lawsuit claiming that President Clinton sexually harassed her when he was governor of Arkansas and she was a state employee. From what you know, do you believe Paula Jones' allegations of sexual harassment against President Clinton, or not?

	<u>10/97</u>	<u>6/97</u>	[70]
Believe Paula Jones' allegations.....	35	33	
Do not believe Paula Jones' allegations.....	48	45	
Not sure.....	17	22	

- 21b. In filing a lawsuit against President Clinton, do you think that Paula Jones is trying to damage him politically and is being urged on by the President's political opponents, or is this a sincere attempt to restore her reputation and see that justice is done? *

Damage him politically/being urged on by opponents...	53	[71]
Sincere attempt to restore reputation.....	22	
Some of both (VOL).....	11	
Not sure.....	14	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 21c. In your opinion, do you think that the lawyers for President Clinton should try to settle the Paula Jones lawsuit without going to trial, even if the President did nothing wrong? **

Yes, should try to settle the lawsuit.....	42	[72]
No, should not try to settle the lawsuit.....	48	
Some of both (VOL).....	3	
Not sure.....	7	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

Changing subjects...

22. Now I'd like to read you a list of economic issues. As of right now, which one of the following do you feel is the most important economic issue facing the country?

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE

	<u>10/97</u>	<u>1/95</u>	<u>12/94</u>	<u>10/94</u>	<u>9/94</u>	<u>6/94</u>	<u>12/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>12/92</u>	<u>5/92</u>	<u>9/91+</u>	
	#											
The federal budget deficit.....	23	32	30	30	27	30	25	28	24	22	21	
Unemployment.....	21	27	30	32	34	35	40	40	46	46	37	
Federal taxes.....	20	13	11	12	11	11	11	11	5	5	7	
The U.S. trade deficit.....	15	10	10	8	9	8	7	8	10	8	8	
Inflation.....	10	7	9	8	10	6	6	6	6	7	11	[73]
Interest rates.....	3	5	6	3	4	5	2	2	3	2	3	
All equally important (VOL).....	5	4	2	6	3	4	7	4	5	8	10	
None is important (VOL).....	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Not sure.....	2	2	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	3	

This question reflects responses among 1214 adults.

+ Asked only of registered voters.

23. As you may know, the stock market has recently experienced sharp increases and decreases. Do you feel that the stock market may decline sharply in the coming months, or not? ** #

Yes, feel that the stock market may decline sharply.....	38	[74]
No, do not feel that the stock market may decline sharply.....	44	
Depends (VOL).....	3	
Not sure.....	15	

This question reflects responses among 711 adults.

** October 25-27, asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

24. Do you think that free trade agreements such as NAFTA, the agreement between the U.S., Canada, and Mexico, have done more to create jobs in your area, more to cost jobs in your area, or haven't they made much of a difference? **

More to create jobs in my area	9	[75]
More to cost jobs in my area.....	30	
Haven't made much of a difference.....	50	
Not sure.....	11	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

25. As you may know, President Clinton has asked Congress to give him "fast-track" authority to negotiate more free trade agreements. The "fast-track" authority would mean that once the negotiations are completed, Congress would take an up-or-down vote on an agreement as a whole, but could not vote to

make any amendments or changes in an agreement. Do you strongly favor, somewhat favor, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose having Congress grant the President fast-track authority to negotiate new free trade agreements? **

	<u>10/97*</u>	<u>9/97</u>	<u>7/97</u>	
	*			
Strongly favor.....	12	11	9	[76]
Somewhat favor.....	23	26	23	
Somewhat oppose.....	25	25	29	
Strongly oppose.....	31	31	32	
Not sure.....	9	7	7	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

26a. Do you personally know anyone who has had a cutback in their job or lost their job because an American company moved overseas?

Yes, know someone who has had cutback in/lost their job.....	26	[77]
No, don't know anyone who has had cutback in/lost their job.....	73	
Not sure.....	1	

26b. Do you personally know anyone who has benefited in their job or got a job because an American company expanded due to foreign trade or a foreign company locating in the U.S.?

Yes, know someone who benefited in their job or got a job.....	21	[78]
No, don't know anyone who benefited in their job or got a job.....	78	
Not sure.....	1	

Now I'd like to ask you some questions on another subject...

27a. Have you ever been reviewed by the IRS - that is the Internal Revenue Service?

Yes, have been reviewed by the IRS.....	21	CONTINUE	[79]
No, have not been reviewed by the IRS.....	79	FORM A - SKIP TO Q.27c	
Not sure.....	-	FORM B - SKIP TO Q.28a	

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY THEY HAVE BEEN REVIEWED BY THE IRS IN Q.27a.)

27b. Do you believe that you were treated fairly or unfairly in your dealings with the IRS?

Treated fairly in dealings with IRS.....	57	[80]
Treated unfairly in dealings with IRS.....	42	
Not sure.....	1	

27c. There have been a number of incidents in which the IRS is alleged to have behaved unethically or treated people unfairly during audits. Do you believe that these were isolated incidents, or is this something you think occurs fairly regularly? *

Isolated incidents.....	19	[81]
Occurs fairly regularly.....	70	
Not sure.....	11	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

28a. I am going to read you some proposals to reform the current tax system, which supporters say will simplify the tax system, although, as proposed, would increase the federal deficit. For each one I read, please tell me whether you strongly favor, somewhat favor, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose that proposal.

	<u>Strongly Favor</u>	<u>Somewhat Favor</u>	<u>Somewhat Oppose</u>	<u>Strongly Oppose</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
One tax reform proposal would eliminate the current income tax system, replace it with a flat tax of seventeen percent on all income, and eliminate all tax deductions, including those for home mortgages and charitable contributions. A family of four would be exempt from taxes on their first thirty-three thousand dollars of income *.....	23	38	14	18	7	[82]
One tax reform proposal would eliminate the current income tax system and replace it with a national sales tax of fifteen percent on all retail goods and services. This tax plan would offer a mortgage tax credit for all homeowners **.	15	32	22	21	10	[83]

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

28b. Which do you think will do more to make the current tax system fair – reforming the way the IRS operates or reforming the tax code? **

Reforming IRS.....	26	[84]
Reforming tax code.....	48	
Both (VOL).....	19	
Neither/other (VOL).....	1	
Not sure.....	6	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

29. All in all, do you favor or oppose affirmative action programs for minorities and women? ¹

	<u>10/97</u>	<u>8/96</u>	<u>6/96+</u>	
Favor.....	48	51	50	[85]
Oppose.....	43	40	38	
Not sure.....	9	9	12	

¹ Prior to October 1997 the responses were divided into strongly and somewhat favor or oppose.

+ Asked only of registered voters.

Turning to another subject...

30a. Which one of the following environmental problems do you think is the most serious facing the country today? *

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE

	<u>10/97</u>	<u>7/91</u>	<u>4/90</u>	
Hazardous or toxic waste.....	20	21	26	
Destruction of our natural resources.....	18	15	7	
Solid waste and garbage.....	13	16	16	
Water pollution.....	13	12	15	
Global warming.....	10	9	7	
Air pollution.....	9	13	17	[86]
All (VOL).....	15	13	11	
None (VOL).....	1	-	-	
Not sure.....	1	1	1	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

30b. From what you know about global climate change or global warming, which of the following statements comes closest to your opinion? **

Global climate change is a serious problem, and immediate action is necessary.	28	[87]
We don't know enough about global climate change, and more research is necessary before we take action.....	59	
Concern about global climate change is unwarranted.....	9	
Not sure.....	4	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

31. As you may know, El Niño is a phenomenon related to currents in the Pacific Ocean, and is expected to affect the nation's weather this winter. As a result of El Niño, do you expect the weather this winter where you live to be more severe than average, about average, or less severe than average? **

More severe than average.....	42	[88]
About average.....	32	
Less severe than average.....	19	
Not sure.....	7	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

32. Now let me read you some issues of concern in relations between the U.S. and China. Please tell me which one you think is the most important. **

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE

Possible Chinese exports of materials to make missiles and nuclear weapons.....	28	[89]
China's human rights policy.....	26	
China's trade surplus with the U.S.	15	
Allegations that China persecutes religious groups.....	12	
All of the above (VOL)	9	
None of the above (VOL)	3	
Not sure.....	7	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

33. Which one of the following statements best describes your position on trade with China?

Statement A: We should limit our trade with China until it improves its record on human rights.

Statement B: Trade with China is too important, and there are other ways to pressure China on its human rights record.

	<u>10/97*</u>	<u>5/97¹</u>	
Statement A/limit trade with China.....	57	57	[90]
Statement B/trade with China is too important.....	33	37	
Depends (VOL).....	2	2	
Not sure.....	8	4	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

¹ Comparative data comes from a May 1997 survey conducted by Hart-Teeter for the Wall Street Journal and Nikkei.

- 34a. How much of a role would you say religion plays in your life -- is it the single most important thing, very important, somewhat important, or not that important? **

Single most important.....	14	[91]
Very important.....	44	
Somewhat important.....	28	
Not that important.....	14	
Not sure.....	-	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

- 34b. Are you now or have you ever been involved in an alternative religion? *

Yes, is/has been involved in alternative religion.....	4	[92]
No, never have been involved in alternative religion.....	92	
Not sure.....	4	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 34c. How often do you attend services at a church, synagogue, or other place of worship?

Never.....	14	[93]
Once a year.....	7	
A few times a year.....	20	
Once a month.....	7	
About twice a month.....	10	
Once a week or more often.....	41	
Not sure.....	1	

35. Do you own at least five thousand dollars of common stock or mutual funds, either individually or through a retirement savings program?

	<u>10/97#</u>	<u>7/97</u>	
Yes own common stock/mutual fund.....	51	50	[94]
No do not own common stock or mutual fund. .	46	47	
Not sure.....	3	3	

This question reflects responses among 1214 adults.

FACTUALS: Now I am going to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes only.

F1. What is the last grade you completed in school?

Grade school.....	1	{201}
Some high school.....	7	
High school graduate.....	29	
Some college, no degree.....	17	
Vocational training, 2-year college.....	13	
4-year college/bachelor's degree.....	19	
Some postgraduate work, no degree.....	3	
2-3 years' postgraduate work, master's degree.....	9	
Doctoral degree/law degree.....	1	
Not sure.....	1	

F2. How old are you? **(IF REFUSED, ASK:)** Well, can you tell me which age group you belong to? Are you in the age group 18 to 24, 25 to 29, 30 to 34, 35 to 39, 40 to 44, 45 to 49, 50 to 54, 55 to 59, 60 to 64, or 65 and over? #

18-24.....	10	45-49.....	10	{202}
25-29.....	9	50-54.....	7	
30-34.....	10	55-59.....	7	
35-39.....	11	60-64.....	6	
40-44.....	12	65 and over.....	17	
		Refused.....	1	

This question reflects responses among 1214 adults.

F3. Are you currently employed?

(IF CURRENTLY EMPLOYED:) What type of work do you do?

(IF NOT CURRENTLY EMPLOYED:) Are you a student, a homemaker, retired, or unemployed and looking for work? #

<u>Currently Employed</u>		
Professional/manager.....	21	{203}
White collar worker.....	23	
Blue collar worker.....	20	
Farmer.....	1	
<u>Not Currently Employed</u>		
Student.....	4	
Homemaker.....	5	
Retired.....	21	
Unemployed.....	4	
Never worked/not sure.....	1	

This question reflects responses among 1214 adults.

F4a. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an independent, or something else?

(IF "DEMOCRAT" OR "REPUBLICAN," ASK:) Would you call yourself a strong (Democrat/Republican) or not a very strong (Democrat/Republican)? **(IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "NOT VERY STRONG DEMOCRAT/ REPUBLICAN.")**

(IF "INDEPENDENT," ASK:) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party, closer to the Democratic Party, or do you think of yourself as strictly independent? **(IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "STRICTLY INDEPENDENT.")** #

Strong Democrat.....	21		{205}
Not very strong Democrat.....	13		
Independent/lean Democrat.....	8	SKIP TO Q.F4c	
Strictly independent.....	18		
Independent/lean Republican.....	9		
Not very strong Republican.....	10	CONTINUE	
Strong Republican.....	14		
Other.....	4		
Not sure/nothing.....	3	SKIP TO Q.F4c	

This question reflects responses among 1214 adults.

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO CALL THEMSELVES A REPUBLICAN OR AN INDEPENDENT WHO LEANS REPUBLICAN IN Q.F4a.)

F4b. Who do you consider to be the leader of the Republican party at this time -- Trent Lott, Newt Gingrich, or someone else?

Trent Lott.....	16	[114]
Newt Gingrich.....	38	
Someone else.....	24	
Not sure/refused.....	22	

F4c. In politics today, do you generally consider yourself to be very liberal, somewhat liberal, moderate, somewhat conservative, very conservative, or do you think your views cannot really be described in those terms?

Very liberal.....	7	{206}
Somewhat liberal.....	17	
Moderate.....	27	
Somewhat conservative.....	24	
Very conservative.....	11	
Views cannot be described in those terms....	11	
Not sure.....	3	

F5a. Are you currently registered to vote in the precinct or election district in which you now live, or haven't you had a chance to register yet?

Registered	84	{207}
Not registered.....	14	
Not sure.....	2	

F5b. Did you happen to vote in the 1996 presidential election?

(IF "YES," ASK:) For whom did you vote -- Bill Clinton, the Democrat, Bob Dole, the Republican, or Ross Perot, the Reform Party candidate?

Yes, Voted			
Bill Clinton.....	39		{208}
Bob Dole	28	CONTINUE	
Ross Perot.....	6		
Other (VOL)/not sure/refused.....	6		
No, Did Not Vote	18	SKIP TO	
Not Sure If Voted/Refused	3	Q.F6	

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY THEY VOTED IN Q.F5b.)

F5c. If the 1996 presidential election were being held again next Tuesday, would you vote for Bill Clinton, the Democrat, Bob Dole, the Republican, or Ross Perot, the Reform Party candidate?

Bill Clinton.....	37	{209}
Bob Dole.....	29	
Ross Perot.....	7	
Not sure.....	6	
Did Not Vote/Not Sure If Voted (Q.F7b).....	21	

F6. What is your marital status--are you single and never married, married, separated, divorced, or widowed?

Single.....	23	{211}
Married.....	56	
Separated.....	2	
Divorced.....	10	
Widowed.....	7	
Not sure/refused.....	2	

F7a. In what religion were you brought up?

Protestant.....	53	CONTINUE	{212}
Catholic.....	30		
Jewish.....	2		
Other.....	9	SKIP TO Q.F8	
None.....	4		
Not sure/refused.....	2		

(ASK ONLY OF PROTESTANTS IN Q.F7a.)

F7b. Would you describe yourself as either a fundamentalist or an evangelical Christian, or would you not describe yourself that way?

Yes, fundamentalist/evangelical/both	18	{213}
No, neither fundamentalist nor evangelical.....	31	
Not sure.....	4	
Non-Protestants (Q.F7a).....	47	

F8. Are you, or is any member of your household, a member of a labor union?

Labor union member.....	11	{215}
Labor union household.....	7	
Nonunion household.....	80	
Not sure.....	2	

F9. Are you white, black, Hispanic, Asian, or something else? #

White.....	82	{220}
Black.....	10	
Hispanic.....	5	

Asian.....	1
Other.....	1
Not sure/refused.....	1

This question reflects responses among 1214 adults.

F10. If you added together the yearly income of all the members of your family who were living at home last year, would the total be less than \$10,000, between \$10,000 and \$20,000, between \$20,000 and \$30,000, between \$30,000 and \$40,000, between \$40,000 and \$50,000, between \$50,000 and \$75,000, between \$75,000 and \$100,000, or would the total be more than that? #

Less than \$10,000.....	5	{221}
Between \$10,000 and \$20,000.....	10	
Between \$20,000 and \$30,000.....	14	
Between \$30,000 and \$40,000.....	14	
Between \$40,000 and \$50,000.....	11	
Between \$50,000 and \$75,000.....	16	
Between \$75,000 and \$100,000.....	7	
More than \$100,000.....	7	
Not sure/refused.....	16	

This question reflects responses among 1214 adults.